TO THE PEOPLE OF SUFFOLK CO.

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# INFORMATION,

ACQUIRED FROM THE BEST AUTHORITY,

WITH RESPECT TO THE

# INSTITUTION OF SLAVERY.

BY

WILLIAM JAGGER.

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# TO THE PEOPLE OF SUFFOLK COUNTY.

As there is so much said about Slavery, and the sufferings of the slaves, and so great a difference in the statements with respect to them, it appears difficult to know the truth. As I am well known in the county, and last year travelled in the State of Maryland, Virginia, North and South Carolina, Florida, Georgia, Tennessee, Kentucky, and Missouri, and was in these nine Slave States nearly five months, and did endeavor to find out the true state of the slaves, and conversed with quite a number of them, and with many persons who formely lived in the Free States then residing in the Slave States, I presume you would be gratified to know what I have to say concerning them. Therefore I will first speak of the abolitionists, as they have so long agitated the subject of slavery.

It is more than twenty years since the abolitionists have been agitating the subject of slavery, and speaking of the suffering of the slaves. Papers have been published, and pamphlets with the slave pictured out, describing his suffering condition. And these circulated, and the slaveholders called aristocrats, till impressions have been, made and opinions formed, very unfavorable to the institutions of slavery, and to slaveholders. By which they have done, I believe great injustice to the slaveholders by misrepresenting them, and injured the slaves much. And I believe they have only taken a few cases as they found them scattered over a great surface of country, and held them up to judge the whole of the slaveholders by. And these cases, I believe, they have much exaggerated in the way they have related them.

Suppose a few persons in the Slave States should take the drunkards, rowdies, murderers, and hangmen in the State of New

York, and hold them up to the people in the Slave States for twenty years as a true representation of the whole people in the State of New York!

If these were held up for twenty years, before the people there, and papers published, to show it, and pamphlets describing the rowdies, drunkards, murderers, and hangmen, by pictures drawn to represent them, I presume we should all of us pronounce it an untrue representation of the people of the State, and pronounce it as false. Although we knew it was false, still if they continued to hold us up for twenty year as such in the Slave States, it would make impressions on the minds of the people there, and opinions would be formed by many persons that the people were rowdies, drunkards, murderers, and hangmen, in the State of New York, and they would look upon us as an awful wretched people.

Should an investigation be made, to show the people of the South, that a few persons there had misrepresented us, and that we could prove it by thousands and tens of thousands of the people in the state, that it was false to hold us up as rowdies, drunkards, murderers, and hangmen, they would be surprised at the deception practised upon them.

And if the people from the Slave States had by thousands come to the State of New York, and lived in the state for years, and we could prove by them that the people of the State of New York was not made up of rowdies, drunkards, murderers, and hangmen, they would be still more surprised.

And I believe the abolitionists in their publications have misrepresented the slaveholders and the treatment of the slaves, and the sufferings of them for twenty years. As much as if the people in the Slave States had for twenty years been publishing papers and pamphlets and pictures and likenesses describing the rowdies drunkards, murderers, and hangmen of the State as a representation of the whole population of the State of New York.

And they can, I believe, prove it by thousands and tens of thousands of the people there, and by thousands of people who did live in the Free States, but now reside in the Slave States, that the abolitionists have, for twenty years, been misrepresenting the slave-

holders and the treatment of the slaves, and the sufferings of them by their papers and pamphlets, and their pictures drawn to describe their sufferings.

Some measures should be taken to have this matter investigated, that the people may no longer be misled by them.

I will now state what I know of the slaves. I believe, from the best authority, they are as happy as the white people are North or South, and do not labor as hard as the white people do in the Free States. And when they are sick, they have good care taken of them. This information I had from men, who formerly resided in the Free States, but who now reside in the Slave States. I took pains to find these men, for the purpose of inquiring about the treatment of the slaves, and I believe found them in every place I visited. I found old men middle-aged, and young men; and I conversed with quite a number of them about the slaves. I believe every one of them said the slaves had a plenty to eat, plenty of clothes to wear, were well treated, did not labor as hard as the people do in the Free States, and, when sick, were taken good care of. In the time of harvest and haying, people in the Free States work hard; so it is in the season of gathering in the crop of cane for molasses and sugar. If it is not done in the season, it becomes sour, and the crops much injured. So all expect to labor and do what they can to save the crop; but you may depend, it is a great mistake to say the slaves labor hard at all seasons, or to say they are not well treated, do not have a plenty of food and clothes, or are not taken good care of when sick. The slaves are too valuable to injure by overmuch labor, or to be made to suffer for anything; or to labor when they are not in health.

If a man does a great days work, which he can do for a short time, but soon finds that he feels bad and must have rest, to recruit, he must stop to gain what he has lost by over effort. If he does not, but continues to over-labor, he impairs his constitution, and finally cannot do anything. It is with the slave as with the free-man; if he does more than his constitution can bear, the master is the loser; and he knows it; and as a slave is worth from eight to fourteen hundred dollars, you may depend that this great value in a person will protect him from doing anything more than a moderate day's labor;

or, if slaves are injured in any way, there is a great loss if they do not recover.

And you may be assured that these men from the Free States do much oppose the North's interfering with the South concerning the slaves. Many of them have lived South for years; some forty, thirty, twenty, ten, five, and one year. They of course know the whole system of slavery, and they say the abolitionists do the slaves and free-colored people much injury; as the slaves are not permitted to go from home as they did some twenty-five years ago, for fear they will encounter an abolitionist. And they must not be out at night as late as they were before. The free-colored people could formerly go, I was informed, where they pleased, and return as the white people. It was only necessary to have their freedom papers, and show them, and that was all that was required of them. Now, they must, on leaving a place, get a person to go with them to the conductor of the railroad, and become security to pay the value of a slave in case it should be proved he was a run away slave.

I asked a person from one of the Eastern States, who had resided there six years, and taught school for five years, what he thought of the abolitionists and slavery.

He said he did not own a slave, and did not expect to; but he thought the North had better let the South alone, mind their own business, and take care of their own poor; for there were a good many white persons there that were not as well off as the slaves; and as to colored people, they did not begin to compare with the slaves.

Now this school-teacher was a smart, active man, and was well acquainted with the whole operation of the system of Slavery, and was about thirty-five years old. I hope we shall take the advice of the school-teacher, and let the South alone, lest by our interfering they may have to pass more acts for the protection of their slaves, that will operate much to the injury of them.

Another person from a Free State, who for twenty years, as he stated to me, has resided in a Slave State, and every year has come to the North, hearing so much said about the slaves, took pains to examine the situation of the colored people in the Free States; he said he could find more suffering in one day in the city of Philadelphia and in the city of New York, among the colored people,

than he could find in twenty years in the Slave States. This was an intelligent merchant. Quite a number of others related to me similar statements, of living formerly in Free States and then residing in a Slave State, and going North, some of them every year, others not so often.

An engineer from one of the Eastern States, who had resided in Slave States several years, had been an overseer, did quite a number of different jobs of work, and had worked with a great many slaves, said he could not see how their situation would be bettered if they were set at liberty. He believed they would be in a much worse state if they were set free. If their masters would give him the power to do so, he would not be responsible for the great amount of suffering that he believed would follow upon them. These men from the Free States said the Abolitionists had much abused the people at the South, and greatly misrepresented them, and injured the Slave and the Free ones.

I believe there is no doubt but the abolitionists have done the slaves and free-colored people much harm, and greatly abused and misrepresented the people at the South. I have spoken with the slaves and free-colored about the abolitionists, and what they had done for them; a slave said, "the abolitionists have done us a great injury, and I suppose they will continue to do so."

In conversation with a free-colored person about the abolitionists and what they had done for the colored people,

He said, "They have done us a great injury."

I then said, "If the abolitionists have done you an injury, ought they not to be put down?"

He said, "To be sure they ought to be put down."

Another said, "The abolitionists have not done us any good, but have done us much harm."

I was last year in the City of Quincy, in the State of Illinois—it lies on the Mississippi river—in conversation with a smart colored free man, he said he had resided there twenty years, and when he first went there to live, the slaves from the State of Missouri, lying on the west side of the river, did frequently cross it, and traded at the stores; he said they went as far as Chicago, and returned to

their masters. But since the abolitionists had induced some of them to run away, the slaves were not permitted to cross the river, and they did not come to Quincy; so we see they are deprived of the pleasure of going from home, as they used to do.

Last fall, in the city of Chicago, I noticed several colored people did not appear to have employment. I said to one of them—

"You do not seem to have anything to do?"

He spoke of the abolitionists, and said, "they got colored people there, and left them, and he began to find them out; and that it was popular to talk of abolitionists. He believed some of them got an office by it."

I thought this colored person was a slave.

The slaves, it appears to me, feel that they were well provided for, and that their masters are their friends; and I believe they are satisfied with their situation; and, that a great number of them do not wish to be free. I put leading questions to them to get them into conversation. I said to a smart, active-looking slave, could you get a living if you were free?

He said he could get a living if he were free. He also said he would rather, by half, have a master. He said he should have to work anyhow. He spoke of his master, and of his having much to do, and that he had one plantation in South Carolina and another in Florida. He said they had an overseer, and were all done planting, and that every one of them had an acre of ground apiece, and more too.

I asked him "if the other slaves had rather have a master than to be free?

He said, "To be sure, they had."

Another slave, whom I was talking with, said he would not change his situation for any other place, unless he was sure of doing well.

Another slave said he was thirty years of age, and had a good master, and never saw a hard day.

Another said he had all he wanted, and he could not see what any one wanted more for.

I said to a slave, "I suppose you have friends that would fight for you?"

He said he knew his master would fight for him.

Another smart-looking slave said he did not know that he ever saw a free man. He then said they could not buy or sell his master, but he was not free, for he was a slave to his business.

Another slave said, "We have a very kind master."

Another said, "our master is a very good man;" and I do not think I heard one slave say his master was a hard master, but many spoke well of their masters.

As I was walking in the street I met a colored person. I spoke to him. He stopped; and while we were there talking another colored person passed by us. I noticed his dress was not as good as the person I was speaking too. I said to him, "Why is it his clothes are not as good as yours?"

He said, "I am thinking he is a free man."

I then asked him, if the free-colored persons did not dress as well as the slaves?

He said, the free-colored persons did not dress as well as the slaves.

I have been told, by quite a number of slaves, that part of the free-colored persons did not do as well as the slaves.

As to the separating of families, selling the father in one place, his wife in another, and the children to different persons, it appears to be the hardest part of the institution; and such is the feeling of the white people. They are opposed to the separating of a family. Public opinion requires of a person who has a family to sell, that he should sell them together—sell them to one person—and that they be kept together. As there are so many that want to purchase slaves, it appears the family is most always sold together. If there are small children, a slaveholder told me, the mother was the best person to take care of them; so the purchaser would rather have them together. A Free-State man, who has for years resided in a Slave State, said he had seen thousands sold, but never saw a family separated. They were sold together. He said it was the case sometimes, however, that families were separated, but he never saw such a case. And from good authority I state, a family is not often separated when sold. But habit and custom seem to prepare the slaves' minds for

being sold when necessary, and they do not appear to regard it. I have spoken to quite a number about their masters selling them. I asked one if his master would sell him.

He said, he did not know.

I asked him, if he had any objections to my buying him.

He said he did not know that he had any.

I asked another if his master would sell him.

He said, he guessed they had no more hands than they wanted.

I asked him if he was willing I should buy him.

He said he did not care.

I asked a boy, about 12 years of age, if his master would sell him.

He said his master was dead, and he belonged to his mistress.

I said, I shall buy you.

He said he did not care if I did.

After that I saw the boy again, and asked him if I should buy him.

He said, "Yes, sir, buy me."

And all I spoke to about their masters selling them, and of my buying them, scarcely appeared to object to being sold.

It appeared they were treated well where they were, and of course expected to be if they went to another place. I was informed that the slaves do not care if they are sold, as they like to go from one place to another. I have seen a number sold at auction. They did not appear to mind it. We see our young men leaving their homes, and going hundreds of miles. Others, a number of thousands. Families are scattered apart. I have known boys from several familes to leave their homes and, as it is termed, to run away, as they went without the knowledge of their parents, although they were, I believe, treated well at home. So do not let us think it strange that there are colored persons who like to travel.

I was informed there are men who treat their slaves badly; but, I believe there are as many men in the Free States that would treat a team of horses badly, or suffer it to be done, that was worth sixteen hundred or two thousand dollars, as there are men who treat or suffer their slaves to be treated badly. Now I do not believe there are many men that would treat such a team of horses badly, or suffer it to be done. So I believe there are only a very few men

who treat their slaves badly, or suffer it to be done. On the contrary, I believe they treat them very well. I have frequently heard them spoken to kindly but never heard them spoken harshly to.

I have been told by slaveholders, if a slave does wrong and is whipped for it, he appears to feel that he deserved it, and seems satisfied with it, and it does not do him any hurt. But if a slave is whipped when he does *not* deserve it, it does him a great injury. They feel their master is their friend; and if he whips them, or suffers them to be whipped or abused, when they do not deserve it, the slave feels his master does not care for him; and the effect is, he becomes careless, heedless, and has very little, if any, regard for his master's interest. They say such a slave is spoiled, and of little value to his master; and if he has marks upon him that show he has been whipped, he will not sell for as much by a number of hundred dollars. So to abuse their slaves, the owners suffer a great loss. My father and mother had slaves; one of them, without liberty, used to go from home, and return when she pleased, and was saucy. Father several times corrected her, but she did not reform, and he finally sold her as a bad one. The other slaves were very good, and were treated kindly, and were respected by the family. And I knew families that owned slaves that were treated well. These slaves thought much of their master and the family, and when in years, for their good conduct, had the title of uncles and aunts. And so it is, I am told, in the slave states. The old ones are called uncles and aunts. And in the slave states there are, as I was informed, some very bad slaves, and their acts prove them as such. They, of course, are corrected.

From my knowledge of the slave, I believe very few would run away into the free states north, were they not persuaded to do so by white people. It appears they have an opinion that the people in the free states do not treat the colored people as well as they do in the slave states. I have heard quite a number of colored persons speak of the people in the free states not treating the colored people as well as they are treated in the slave states. One said to me, "The colored people have more liberty in the free states than we have here." But having understood they did not have as much bread as they wanted,

"That liberty," said he, "that does not give plenty of bread, I do not want." He said he was *not* a slave.

When in the South, I became acquainted with a minister of the gospel, whom I heard preach a number of times. He was from one of the free States. As I intended to publish a pamplet, or a small book upon the subject of slavery, I mentioned it to this minister, and requested him to write me his views upon the subject of slavery. He did so. I feel confident to say, that he gave me the liberty to publish his name. Quite a number of other persons whom I spoke with about slavery, also gave me liberty to publish their names; but I did not think it necessary.

I here present you the remarks of the minister alluded to. He says:—

"An appeal to the present condition and prospects of colored people North and South, establishes this fact, that as a class, they are happier in the South. The same test proves that slaves are happier than free colored people. If, therefore, slaves could be set free it would be worse for them. The efforts of abolitionists, therefore, if successful, would only be to the injury of the slaves.

Threatened danger always makes us more vigilant. The abolitionists threaten danger to slaveholders; therefore slaveholders are more vigilant of their slaves, and are compelled to enact more stringent laws for their regulation. In this way also abolitionists injure slaves. Abolitionists strive to make slaves discontented with their condition; and discontent, so far as it extends, is destructive of happiness. Therefore the efforts of abolitionists are destructive of the happiness of the slaves.

"I lived one year on a plantation in Virginia, and three months on a plantation in Florida; and in both instances had abundant opportunity to witness the practical workings of slavery. The results of these observations are:—

1st. Slaves do not have so hard labor to perform as the free negroes at the North.

2nd. The temporal wants of the slaves are much more amply supplied than those of free negroes.

3rd. In sickness slaves are immeasurably better attended to than free negroes at the North.

4th. Masters generally care more for the religious interests of their negroes than Northern men generally do for the free negroes in their midst. The comparison, on this point, is vastly in favor of slaveholders."

This minister was a kind, and, I believe, a good man, and had a good opportunity to understand what he states. And every person who desires to have the truth on this important subject, should reflect upon what he says.

The case is very different, I believe, with some others, who write upon the subject of slavery. Those who get office by it do, of course, have their articles published in the newspapers by paying for it, and some persons appear not to regard what they write or publish. The minister did not receive anything for writing the article he gave me.

Considerable number of persons whom I spoke with about the slaves, said they were abolitionists when they went to live in the slave state, and believed the slaves were abused. But after living there for some time, they saw the slaves were treated well, and well provided for, and enjoyed themselves better than the free colored people in the free states. They therefore changed their opinion, and now oppose the abolitionists, believing they do much hurt to the slaves, and the free-colorred people, and misrepresent and abuse the people of the South.

After all that has been said about separating of families, and the abuse of slaves, by whipping, driving, and beating them, it appears to me that the slaves are contented to live as they are, with a very few exceptions; and, that the free-colored people would rather live in the Slave States than in the Free States; and, that the most of their trouble and inconvenience has been brought upon them by the abolitionists.

The South have had to pass laws to prevent the slaves from running away. These laws operate to the injury of the slaves and the free-colored people.

It appeared to me, that the slaves and free-colored people, seeing it just and proper that such laws should have been passed, try to be reconciled to them; and, that they understand the abolitionists were the cause of their being passed.

To show that the slaves are contented, and that the free-colored people would rather live in the Slave States than in the Free States, we will see where we find them, and then speak of the opportunity the slaves have to run away, if they wish to do so.

The six Eastern States: Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut have 65,440 square miles; and by the census taken in 1850, they have 23,021 colored people in the six states. And by the census taken in 1790 they had 17,042 colored people.

The State of New York has 46,220 square miles, and 49,069 free colored people.

The six States and New York have 111,660 square miles, and 72,090 free-colored people.

Maryland has 10,755 square miles, and 74.723 free-colored people, and 90,368 slaves, and is bounded on the north by Pennsylvania.

Pennsylvania, a Free State, has 46,215 square miles, and has 53,626 free-colored people.

By this we see that the State of Maryland has not one quarter as many square miles as the State of Pennsylvania.

And it also shows that Maryland has 21,096 free-colored people more than there is in the State of Pennsylvania, and, that it has 2,633 more free colored people than the six Eastern States and the State of New York combined.

I think this is pretty good proof that the free-colored people had rather live in Maryland, a Slave State, than in Pennsylvania, a Free State, or the State of New York, or the six eastern States.

For we find them there, and they have only to step over the line, and they are in Pennsylvania, a Free State,—as the States are separated by a line. But they, as appears to me, would rather live in a slave State than a Free State.

Maryland, as we have stated, has 90,368 slaves, and what have they to do but to step over the line, and they are in the State of Pennsylvania, a Free State, and then start for the house of an abolitionist, who appears ready to help them to find a place to hide, or to aid them to travel to the North!

I think this another pretty good proof that the slaves would rather live with their masters than to leave them.

Delaware, a Slave State, has 2,068 square miles, and a population of 18,090 free-colored people, and 2,290 slaves. It is partly bounded on the north by Pennsylvania; on the east by a bay that separates it from the State of New Jersey.

Pennsylvania would make twenty-two states as large as Delaware; yet it has not got three times as many free-colored people as Delaware. The free-colored people have only to pass over the line into Pennsylvania, and they are in a free state; or, to cross the bay and land on the shore of the State of New Jersey. But, it appears, they would rather live in Delaware, a slave state.

And the 2,290 slaves in Delaware, it appears to me, would rather live with their masters, or they would oftener cross the line into Pennsylvania, and run away; or take a boat, and cross the bay, and land upon the shore of New Jersey, a free state.

This is good proof, to me, that the free-colored people had rather live in the slave states than in the free states; and, that the slaves are well treated, and like their situation, or they would run away.

And if the slaves were whipped, beat, and drove about, as some say they are, the free-colored people would not like to see it, and they would, I believe, leave the state.

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| In the six Eastern States, in 1850, as we have seen, there were free-colored - - - - - people, | | 23,021 |
| In the State of New York, free-colored - - " | | 49,090 |
| In the State of New Jersey, free-colored - " | | 23,810 |
| In the State of Pennsylvania, free-colored - " | | 53,626 |
| The whole number of free-colored people in nine States, - - | | 149,45 |

| | |
|---|---|
| In the State of Delaware the number of free-colored people is, - - - - - - - - - - | 18,073 |
| In the State of Maryland, free-colored - - people, | 74,723 |
| In the District of Columbia, free-colored - " | 10,059 |
| In the State of Virginia, free-colored - - " | 54,333 |
| In the three States and District of Columbia - - | 157,188 |

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| Here we have the number of free colored people in three Slave States and the District of Columbia, - - | 157,188 |
| Free colored people in nine Free States, - - - | 149,447 |
| | 7,741 |

By subtracting the number in the Slave States from the Free States, as we see, we find seven thousand seven hundred and forty-one free colored people more than we find in nine Free States.

Virginia has 472,528 slaves, and is bounded on the north partly by Pennsylvania, and partly by the Ohio river. The slaves, therefore, could very easily, I think, run away if they wished to do so.

I have been informed, however, that only a few do run away.

I have also been told that those who do run away, it is believed, were persuaded away by the abolitionists.

I presume some persons will try to give a reason *why* so many free-colored people live in the slave states. They *may* say they were born there, and having friends do not wish to leave them. But we see white people leave their homes and friends, and go thousands of miles away!

The free-colored people in Delaware, Maryland, and Virginia have only to cross a line, as we have seen, and they are in a free state. And we may depend upon it that quite a number of free-colored people, men and women, have been to the free states to find labor and to live there. But finding they were not treated by the white people as well as they were in the slave states, they returned again to the slave states.

The character of the people in the Free States, appears to be well known by the free-colored people, and part of the slaves; and that character is, that they do not treat the colored people as well as they are treated in the slave states.

I have frequently heard the colored people speak of the treatment they received from the people in the free states; they say they do not treat colored people as well in the free states as the white people treat them in the slave states, and that that is the reason we find so many free-colored people in the slave states.

If there were as many free-colored people in the State of Pennsylvania as there are in the State of Delaware, according to the size

of the state, there would be near four hundred thousand free-colored people in the State of Pennsylvania,

If Pennsylvania had as many free colored people as the State of Maryland, according to the size of the state, there would be more than three hundred thousand free colored people in the State of Pennsylvania.

It appears to me, I have given you pretty good proof that the free-colored people had rather live in the slave states than in the free states.

I am informed only a few of the slaves run away from the States of Delaware, Maryland, and Virginia. I think that it is pretty good proof that the slaves are very well contented with their situation.

Please to reflect upon it, that Delaware and Virginia are bounded partly on the north by a free state: and, that Maryland also, is bounded on the north by a free state: so it appears their slaves could run away if they wished to do so.

I wish to call your attention again to the six Eastern States and the colored people there.

As we have stated, then, there were in the six Eastern States, in 1850, 23,021 colored people; and by the census taken in 1790, there were of slaves and free-colored people, 17,042. By this we see that in sixty years, the 17,042 colored people have increased only 5979.

I am informed the natural increase should have been more than 70,000 in these six states.

And part of these 5,979, I believe, are runaway slaves.

Some persons may believe, that in sixty years, there have been 5,979 runaway slaves in the Eastern States.

If that number have been made up by runaway slaves, then it appears the 17,042 colored persons that were in these six states in 1790, have not increased at all.

That there should not have been a greater increase is wonderful. It appears to me, there must be something wrong, in some form or other.

I do not wish to condemn any person, or people, before I have the proof; but, for so many people to be in six states for sixty years, and then find so small an increase, is very mysterious.

Slaves did, as I have been informed, run away from the state of New York some forty or fifty years ago, and fled to the Eastern States.

Some fifty years ago my uncle had one run away there, and he went there after him; so it appears these Eastern States have, for fifty years or more, had an increase of colored people by runaway slaves.

And by some process or other, it appears they have managed to suppress the increase of the colored people.

That in sixty years, the 17,042 have increased only 5,979, with all the runaway slaves that have been added to their number, is, I repeat it, very mysterious.

I was in Lynn, Massachusetts, some fourteen years ago, and tarried there about two weeks. I saw there two colored persons engaged in sawing wood. I spoke to them several times.

They said they formerly lived in Pennsylvania; but thinking the people in Boston were friendly to the colored people, they went there and took board, and spent several days travelling about the city to find work. They applied at a number of places where men were employed to labor, and asked to be employed. But no one would employ them, and they finally paid most all the money they had for board.

They were at length advised to go in the country to look for labor, and found it was very scarce. They finally took to sawing wood to get money enough to defray their expenses to Philadelphia.

They spoke of the abolitionists, and said, it was all talk; they did not care much, after all, for the colored people.

One of them, I believe, was a runaway slave, and the other went to Boston with him to help him.

The free-colored people in the slave states think the free states a hard place for the colored people.

And it appears to be well understood by part of the slaves, that the free states is a hard place for the colored people, and they do not wish to live in them.

I believe the New England States will not have many more runaway slaves to increase the number of colored people among them, for I believe the slaves begin to know better then to go there. And

as it appears to me, the people of the six eastern states after all do not care much for the colored people.

I believe, if they continue to treat them as they have done, they will not increase but will decrease, and finally, there will be scarcely any colored people in them.

The people of the South are doing much to improve the slaves. They say to them in substance, as I understand it: You are the descendants of a people that were, some fifteen hundred years ago, a great people, wise and learned in the arts. If you will try to improve yourselves we will give you an opportunity to do it, and places where you can learn trades. A nation to be great, must have mechanics of different kinds to manufacture the numerous articles that are used. And in the South they are learning their slaves trades; and, I believe, the slaves do much appreciate the effort that is made to improve them.

I was several times surprised when I found the colored people were employed doing business that I never have seen done by colored persons in the free states.

When travelling, I noticed colored carpenters and blacksmiths at work. At a place we stopped to breakfast were four large-sized, fine looking colored men at work, framing a house. Two others were at work in a shop, making doors and window frames. I went where they were at work; they were worth looking at; there were no white men there.

The skirt of my coat was burnt.

In the evening I went into a tailor's shop, and was surprised to find that they were all colored persons. I should not have gone in if I had known it, as I desired to have it well done, and never before saw a colored tailor. I asked the foreman if I could have it well done. He said I could. I left it, and returned. It was well done. Quite a number of times I have spoken of the work, and shown it, to prove that a colored man can do good work.

I have been in shops where colored people were employed in building wagons and different kinds of pleasure carriages, and making harness, and appeared to be at work on every part of the carriage. And in blacksmith shops where colored persons were employed, they

were doing, as it appeared, every part of the work that is done to iron a wagon, and different kinds of pleasure carriages. In these shops there were a number of white men at work ; I noticed, for that was my business there. The colored blacksmith appeared to understand the work he was doing. And the colored carriage makers also appeared to do their work well.

I was informed by a gentleman, that he was a manufacturer of wagons and all kinds of pleasure carriages, that he had twenty-two colored persons at work upon these carriages, and that the colored persons did the work upon all parts of the carriage—paint, varnish, stitch leather, and make harness ; and, that they did the work as well as it was done by white men.

I have seen shoemakers, masons, and men building docks and repairing them. I have also seen carmen, harness-makers, and men digging iron ore, and then casting that into pig-iron, and then casting the pig-iron into bar-iron, and then they did work some of the iron up in a blacksmith shop attached to the establishment.

I have also seen colored men use the fire-engine, apparently with as much skill, and energy, and effect, as I have ever seen white men.

I saw a white man, an engineer, who had worked at the business some years. He stated the number of colored men he had taught to be engineers, and it was quite a number. This attention to them elevated the colored people. The slaves told me they had an opportunity to make considerable money for themselves, some twelve dollars, others twenty-five dollars, a year. This they use as they please. Their master provides all that is necessary for them. Mechanics say they earn twice that sum, which they have for their own benefit.

I have several times travelled on steamboats, where the pilot was a colored man. The captain appeared to feel that the pilot was well acquainted with the business, for when we were going up the upper part of St. John's river, in Florida (it is the crookedest river I ever saw), the Captain's attention was taken up by looking for an opportunity to shoot alligators, and several times did he shoot at them, and the colored pilot did pilot the boat, and all landed safe at Enterprise without the least difficulty. And when we came back

we had a colored pilot, and the Captain, as before, was engaged in shooting alligators. We returned without the least difficulty, and landed at Pilatka.

When we went to St. Augustine there were two pilots. One had a spy-glass, which he used. The other piloted the boat; and we arrived safely there. I thought it a very difficult place to pilot a boat after we left the sea and went into the bay. And when we returned, we had two colored pilots, and were landed at Savannah in Georgia. One of the engineers was a colored man, on each of the boats.

The Captains of these boats appeared to place much confidence in the knowledge and skill of these colored pilots, for they did not appear to feel it was necessary for them to have much of anything to do with the piloting of the boats. I spoke with the Captains about the colored pilots. The Captains said they were well acquainted with their business. And the colored pilots themselves appeared to feel that they were men of some importance and considerably elevated.

I went to three different Sunday schools in Nashville, Tennessee, where colored children were taught to read. At other places, I was informed, they teach them to commit to memory verses in the Testament and other good books. I met a colored boy in the street with a paper in his hand. I asked him if he could read; he said yes, sir. I asked him to read. He did so; and read very well. I met another colored boy with a paper. I asked him if he could read; he said yes, sir. I asked him to read. He did so; and he also read very well.

I wish the people might see the great difference there is between the colored people in the Free States, and the Slave States, and what the South is doing to elevate the slaves. If they did see it, as it is, they would be greatly surprised to find the colored people South at work, as appears, at most all kinds of mechanical trades, and piloting the steamboats and acting as engineers.

And when the people do turn their attention to it, with a determination to understand it, I believe it will put a stop to this agitation of slavery, and will not, I think, say the South are aristo-

crats, but are republicans, and show much regard for the poor by employing so many free colored people.

What a company of missionaries can the South send to Africa! Men taught to do, as appears, all kinds of work that is necessary to be done in a civilized and Christian community.

A report made by the Colonization Society of Massachusetts, shows that the efforts of the missionaries for more than one hundred years in Africa did not accomplish but very little before the Colonization Society established a colony of colored people in Africa.

And the colony has done wonders, and are improving. From good authority I state it.

And that project originated in a Slave State. The Slave States furnished all the people, and most of the money, so I am informed.

The efforts of the South to teach the colored people, show and prove that as a people they are capable of great improvement. And may improve till they are, as they were some fifteen hundred years ago, learned in arts and science. There is no excuse for the six Eastern States and New York to neglect them as they have done, and to employ so many white persons to do the work the colored people can do as well as the white people, especially when we know, as quite a number of years have proved, that the free colored people depend upon the white people to employ them that they may earn something for their support.

But the abolitionists, it appears to me, do not concern themselves about their having labor or support. As this agitation of slavery is a great injury, and does much harm to the colored people, it is a pity it should not be put an end to.

If the friends of the colored people would only go as far as the State of Maryland, a Slave State, only one day's travelling from New York, they would, I think, see they are the true friends of the colored people, for they employ them to labor, which gives them a living.

In Baltimore, the colored people are Mechanics, boot and shoemakers, carpenters, blacksmiths, tailors, masons, coachmen, butchers, barbers, brickmakers, boatmen and other ways employed; and they

are cheerful and respected. Then you can judge who are the true friends of the colored people.

We hear much of the blighting, blasting effects of slavery, and the great hindrance it is to the South in their prosperity in business and in population.

A person therefore not acquainted with the Slave States may think there is not much there but slaves and masters, and overseers.

If we will but reflect, we shall, I think, understand that the Southern States have a very different soil from the Northern and Western States, and, that they cannot produce grain and grass as they do in the Northern and Western States.

But we may know there is a great quantity of pitch, tar, and turpentine, pine boards, plank, and pine cord wood, that is from the South.

The pine trees grow on sandy soil; so they have a great quantity of that, and they have warmer weather at the South than in the North. By this we see the soil and the climate of the South are not much adapted to the raising of grain and grass, while the weather is so hot, that men cannot do as much labor there, to endure it, as they can in the North.

But add the above articles to the great quantity of Cotton, molasses, Sugar, Rice, Tobacco, the Cedar shingles and we find quite a great amount is produced, and they are necessary articles for the North to have.

I here speak of the population of the States, and make a comparison between the Free and the Slave States, from which may be seen the increase of the population in both.

The population of the six Eastern States—Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut had, in 1850..... 2,705,075
And in 1790, they had.....972,781
Now double the 972,781, and we have..... 1,945,562

Now subtract this from the above number they had in 1850, and there remains..... 759,513

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| By this we see that the six Eastern States have doubled their population in sixty years, and have over 759,513. | |
| The population of the six Slave States—Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia, was in 1850 | 2,733,075 |
| In 1790 they had a population of 1,178,342—now double the 1,178,342, and we have | 2,356,684 |
| Now subtract this from the above number they had in 1850, and there remains | 376,391 |
| By this, we see, the six Slave States have doubled in their population in sixty years, and have 376,391 over. | |
| The six Eastern States have over, as we see above | 759,513 |
| And the six slave states have, over as we see above | 376,391 |
| Now subtract this from the above, and there remains | 383,122 |

By this we see the number of white people in the six Eastern states have increased over the six Slave States in sixty years. You see it is not much, after all they have said; and I think this will surprise many, after hearing for years so much of the blighting and blasting effects of slavery. This has made an unfavorable impression against the institution of slavery and the Slave States. And when we take into consideration that the Eastern States employ so many to manufacture and to go on the water, and the increase of foreigners, it disappointed me, for I, with others, have heard so much said of the great hinderance that slavery had been to white people going into Slave States to settle, I thought it was so; but I was deceived from the great numbers there are found from the Free States living in the Slave States.

I will now compare the population of the Free States of New York and Pennsylvania with the Slave States of Tennesee and Kentucky.

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|---|---|
| The population of the State of New York in 1790, was | 314,142 |
| In 1850, the population was | 3,048,325 |

| | |
|---|---|
| The population of Pennsylvania in 1790, was..... | 424,099 |
| In 1850 it was..... | 2,258,160 |
| The population of the two States amount to..... | 5,306,485 |

Take the increase of these two States together, and they have doubled seven times in sixty years.

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|---|---|
| The population of the State of Tennessee in 1790, was.. | 32,013 |
| The population in 1850, was..... | 756,836 |
| The population of the State of Kentucky in 1790, was.. | 61,133 |
| In 1850, it was..... | 761,413 |
| The population of the two States amount to..... | 1,518,249 |

The white population in these two Slave States have doubled in sixty years fifteen times. By this, we see that two Slave States have doubled in white population twice as fast as the two greatest States in the Union, with all their great increase of foreigners, commerce, manufactories, railroads, canals, and the great trade from the other States.

I think many honest persons who have not examined this before, will be surprised, after hearing so much of the great hindrance slavery has been to the prosperity and the population of white people in Slave States.

I would not give such leaders any support, by my vote; for surely, it appears wrong to encourage those who deceive us. They have not only deceived me, but I think they have many others, and proved by their works for twenty years, that they have not, so far as I know, done the colored people any good; but they have, I believe, done them a great injury, which proves to me that they were not competent to do such business, and should not have the support of the people any further. Twenty years is a great while to suffer by the experiment of others. The slave has suffered that time by the abolitionist, I believe.

As the politicians and others in the State of Ohio who meddle so

much with the people of Kentucky, concerning their slaves, and as some may think they may do something to stop slavery in Kentucky, I here show the number of the slaves there ; and you will see by the great increase, that the few the abolitionists persuade away, would scarcely be missed there. In the State of Kentucky there were in 1790, 114 free colored persons. In 1850, there were 10,011. By this we see a great increase of free colored people.

In 1790, there were 11,830 slaves.

In 1850, there were 210,981 slaves there.

Here we notice a great increase of slaves. So it will take a long time for the agitators of Ohio to stop slavery in Kentucky ; but they may continue to injure the slaves. A part of the agitators, I presume, would not stop slavery there, if they could ; for I do not doubt but that they get office by it. They are also elected members of Congess, when they would not be, I believe, if they were not abolitionists.

I was at Washington at the extra session of Congress, in the summer of 1854, and I particularly noticed some of the abolitionist members. It was my opinion, that Ohio, Connecticut, and Massachusetts, did each State have a senator, it would not have had there, if he had not been an abolitionist ; for I do not believe these States have so much degenerated in their population that they have not better men.

I think it would be very strange to find 10,011 free colored people in the State of Kentucky, if the white people there were aristocrats—as slaveholders are called—when they have only to cross the Ohio river, and there they are, among, as they of course profess to be, real republicans, in Ohio. After all that is said, we have only to investigate the subject, and we shall find that those who are the best and true friends of the free colored people, are those who employ them ; and the best friends of the slaves, are those who do not meddle with the South, for they are far better judges what is for their good

At a house where I boarded, there was a lady from one of the West India Islands, about fifty years of age. She said she was born and brought up there, and lived there, and had seen slaves

brought there from Africa occasionally during her whole life. She spoke to them about going back to Africa, and asked them if they wished to go back. She says they replied that they did not want to go back, for they did not fare as well in Africa as they did there.

They said they had slaves in Africa; they also said the white man was superior to them, and that they were willing to labor for him.

From good authority I state, that the natives, in parts of Africa, are in a truly wretched state. Some of their children are sacrificed, and they perish in an awful way.

It appears, if Africa is to be civilized and Christianized, it must be done by those colored people who are to go there from this country. The natives have sunk so low, it appears necessary that they should be brought from there here; and after living here, they will improve in intellect, as they have done, and will continue to do till they learn to imitate and to do all kinds of work necessary to a civilized and Christian community.

They *are* improving; and it appears Africa is to be civilized and Christianized in this way, and is thus to receive her compensation for all she has lost by the slave trade.

The people know how the colored people are treated in the Free States, and they can form some opinion who are the most merciful.

The cause of their increasing so fast in the Slave States, is because they are treated as if they were human creatures.

In the Free States, they are, I believe, treated so bad they are discouraged, and neglect to take care of their children. Many die for want of proper care. The grown persons fall into bad habits from being oppressed and discouraged, live a wretched life, and die a miserable death.

It appears to me, the colored missionaries are to come from the South, where the people are already preparing them to fill important places.

As the bees find the flowers, so do the free colored people find the

republicans south, who are their true friends, and shun the aristocrats in the North.

I should have published this ten months before if sickness and business had not prevented me.

With respect,

WILLIAM JAGGER.

October, 1856,